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AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

AMEMBASSY BANGUI

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POACH

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 186713

FOLLOWING REPEAT ADDIS ABABA 9462 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO

ASMARA LONDON ROME PARIS BONN PRETORIA CAPETOWN NAIROBI PORT LOUIS

MOGADISCIO KINSHASA CAIRO ALGIERS RABAT KHARTOUM NOUAKCHOTT

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YAOUNDE DAR ES SALAAO LUSAKA LOURENCO MARQUES LUANDA LAGOS ACCRA

JIDDA USUN NY

DTD 06 AUG 75

QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 9462

O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR OAU

SUBJ: OAU KAMPALA CM AND SUMMIT: SOME ACHIEVEMENT, MUCH PRO-
CRASTINATION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: ALTHOUGH THE TOPPLING OF NIGERIAN PRESIDENT GOWON DALIVERED A BODY BLOW FROM WHICH THE 25TH ANNUAL OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (CM) AND 12TH SUMMIT (JULY 18 - AUG 2 IN KAMPALA) BARELY RECOVERED, OAU CONFEREES AT LEAST MET SOME ISSUES SQUARELY AND RATIFIED PREVIOUS OAU CM DECISIONS PRIOR TO RETREATING UNDER TIME PRESSURES BEFORE NEARLY INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS. THE MAIN ACHIEVEMENT WAS THE SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN STATES' VICTORY OVER ARAB STATEE RE: THE ISRAELI ISSUE. BLACK AFRICA BEAT BACK AN ARAB RESOLUTION TO "EXPEL" (PUSHED PRIMARILY BY LIBYA) OR "SUSPEND" (EGYPT'S WORDS) ISRAEL FROM THE UN AND ITS AGENCIES IF ISRAEL DID NOT ADHERE TO PREVIOUS UN ME RESOLUTIONS. IN PASSING A WATERED-DOWN ISRAEL RESOLUTION (WHICH WAS ACCEPTABLE TO EGYPT BUT COMPLETELY UNPALATABLE TO LIBYA), BLACK AFRICANS DEMONSTRATED CONSIDERABLE COHESION, UNITY OF PURPOSE AND TACTICAL SKILL. THIS BLACK AFRICAN UNITY RESULTED IN A PRACTICAL IMPASSE, AT LEAST IN THE CM, ON THE ISSUE OF AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION. BLACK AFRICANS PUT THE ARABS ON NOTICE THAT THEY MUST UP THEIR ECONOMIC ANTE IN AFRICA IF THEY WISH AFRICAN SUPPORT ON ARAB ISSUES.

2. THE ANGOLAN CRISIS WAS CONSIDERED AT LENGTH. THE CONFERENCE CALLED ON THE VARIOUS ANGOLAN GROUPS TO STOP FIGHTING AND DIRECTED AN AS YET UNNAMED OAU DEL, PROBABLY TO BE HEADED BY OAU CHAIRMAN AMIN, TO GO TO ANGOLA AT SOME UNSPECIFIED FUTURE TIME IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTE.

3. CONFEREES RATIFIED THE APRIL 1975 DAR ES SALAAM RESOLUTIONS
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ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, WELCOMED FOUR NEWLY-INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES AND ATTACKED THE REMAINING VESTIGES OF COLONIALISM, ESPECIALLY IN THE FRENCH TERRITORY OF AFARS AND ISSAS (TFAI) AND THE COMORES ISLAND OF MAILLOTTE.

4. THE CONFERENCE POSTPONED OR SHELVED MANY IMPORTANT ISSUES (NEW ECONOMIC ORDER, SPANISH SAHARA, SUB-REGIONAL LIBERATION GROUP OFFICE IN MOGADISCIO), OR ACCEPTED CONTRADICTIONARY REPORTS (LAW OF THE SEA - LOS) WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE REWORKED BY OAU EXPERTS LATER.

5. EXCEPT FOR SOMALI PRESIDENT SIAD'S
DENIAL IN THE OPENING

SESSION OF A SOVIET BASE IN BERBERA, HIS ATTACK ON THE "MALICIOUS WESTERN IMPERIALIST PRESS" AND US FACILITIES ON DIEGO GARCIA, THE SUBJECT OF US AND SOVIET BASES AND COMPETITION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA WENT ALMOST UNMENTIONED. END SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

6. ISRAELI ISSUE: DURING THE CM DELIBERATIONS ON THIS ISSUE, ETHIOPIA, ZAIRE, SIERRA LEONE, IVORY COAST AND GHANA RESERVED THEIR POSITIONS, PROMISING TO GO IN THE SUMMIT FOR EITHER VERSION OF THE ARAB RESOLUTION TO EXPEL OR SUSPEND ISRAEL FROM THE UN IF IT FAILED TO CARRY OUT UN RESOLUTIONS. OTHER SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN STATES, SUCH AS KENYA AND SENEGAL, WERE BITTERLY OPPOSED TO SUCH A HARSH OAU STATEMENT AGAINST ISRAEL, BUT WAITED UNTIL THE SUMMIT TO JOIN THE FRAY. BOUYED BY THE INCREASING FEELING ON THE PART OF BLACK AFRICANS THAT THEY HAD "GOTTEN OUT IN FRONT" OF THE ARABS ON THE ISRAELI ISSUE WHILE THE ARABS WERE FLAGGING ON THEIR MONETARY INPUT INTO AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION, THE BLACK AFRICANS FORCED THROUGH A WATERED-DOWN ISRAELI RESOLUTION. AFTER DELIBERATIONS HAD LASTED THROUGH THE NIGHT UNTIL 7A.M., THE FINAL OAU POSITION SUPPORTED EGYPT IN PRINCIPLE, IN PARTICULAR ON THE ME AND PALESTINE QUESTIONS, AND CALLED ON MEMBERS TO TAKE ADEQUATE MEASURES TO REINFORCE PRESSURE ON ISRAEL BY THE UN AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPRIVING IT OF ITS MEMBERSHIP FROM THESE INSTITUTIONS ACCORDING TO THE UN CHARTER. COMMENT: IN AN INTERESTING FOLLOW-UP, A WELL-INFORMED WEST AFRICAN DIPLOMAT TOLD EMBOFF THAT "THIS RESOLUTION KILLS ANY POSSIBILITY CONFIDENTIAL

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OF AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAELI UN EXPULSION OR SUSPENSION IN THE NEAR FUTURE." HE THEN ASKED WHY US OFFICIALS STILL REFERRED TO SUCH A POSSIBILITY AND SUGGESTED THEY WERE "BEATING A DEAD HORSE." THE ISRAELI ISSUE ALSO PROVIDED THE VEHICLE FOR FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS OF LIBYAN-EGYPTIAN ANTI-PATHY. WHEN IT WAS CLEAR THAT ANY HARD ANTI-ISRAELI RESOLUTION WAS BOUND TO BE DEFEATED, EGYPT WITHDREW HER "SUSPENSION" DRAFT. LIBYAN PRESIDENT QADDAFI THEN ROSE, CALLED THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATES "BASTARDS" AND CONCLUDED "YOU MIGHT EVEN BE A NEWSPAPERMAN PAID BY THE AMERICANS," CERTAINLY A LOW-POINT IN THE ANNALS OF ARAB BROTHERHOOD.

7. AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION: AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION BECAME AN APPARENT CASUALTY OF THE BLACK AFRICAN-ARAB CONFRONTATION. THE CM "REFERRED" THE ISSUE TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES FOR CONSIDERATION. THE VARIOUS FOREIGN MINISTRIES WOULD EXAMINE THE ISSUE, SUBMIT COMMENTS TO THE OAU SECRETARIAT WHICH WOULD SEND THEM TO ARAB LEAGUE MEMBERS FOR CONSIDERATION. AFTER ADDITIONAL PROCEDURAL RED TAPE, THE QUESTION WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT AN AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT. EVEN THESE CUMBERSOME PROCEDURES, THE ITEM WAS, IN THE WORDS OF ONE NIGERIAN DELEGATE, "EFFECTIVELY PUT ON ICE." HOWEVER, THE ISSUE MAY RESURFACE SOONER THAN

ANTICIPATED. IN THEIR RUSH TO ADJOURN, SUMMIT CONFEREES
AUTHORIZED OAU ADMIN SEC GEN ETEKI TO CONTACT THE ISLAMIC
LEAGUE SEC GEN TO ARRANGE AN AFRO-ARAB SUMMIT "ASAP."

8. SOATERN AFRICA: THE CONFERENCE RATIFIED THE DAR ES SALAAM
RESOLUTION OF APRIL 1975; IT CONDEMNED THE RACIST REGIMES IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA AND CALLED UPON EVERY PEACE AND
JUSTICE LOVING COUNTRY TO CONDEMN UNRESERVEJLY THE WHITE RACIST
REGIMES BY AGREEING TO ISOLATE THEM COMPLETELY THROUGH POLITICAL,
DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, MILITARY, CULTURAL AND OTHER
SANCTIONS. IT URGED THE WESTERN POWERS, PARTICULARLY THE US,
UK, FRANCE, SWITZERLAND, WEST GERMANY AND JAPAN TO END
IMMEDIATELY ALL COOPERATION WITH THE TWO REGIMES AND TO RESPECT
VARIOUS UN RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS. THE OAU
INVITED ALL MEMBERS TO TAKE INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES AND
COLLECTIVE ACTION WITH WESTERN POWERS AND JAPAN TO PERSUADE
THEM TO STOP "THE MASSIVE SUPPORT WHICH CONTINUES" TO THOSE
REGIMES. THE OAU RECOMMENDED THAT MEMBERS TAKE PARTICULARLY
STRONG MEASURES AGAINST INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES WHICH HAVE
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BUSINESS INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA AS WELL AS IN
INDEPENDENT AFRICA, "THUS COMPELLING THEM TO MAKE A CHOICE."
THE CONFERENCE ALSO CALLED ON MEMBERS INTENDING TO EXCHANGE
VISITS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT TO RENOUNCE THESE IN
KEEPING WITH THE UNANIMOUS OAU RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR THE
ISOLATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME. THE OAU "VEHEMENTLY
CONDEMNED" FRANCE, US, UK AND WEST GERMANY FOR "STEPPED-UP
MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS FRANTIC ARMAMENTS
RACE DESIGNED FOR INTERNAL REPRESSION AND AGGRESSION
AGAINST
INDEPENDENT AFRICA." ACCORDING TO SOME DELEGATES, THE ISEUE
OF AFRICAN STATES TRADING WITH AND OTHERWISE DEALING WITH SOUTH
AFRICA AND RHODESIAN BECAME A VERY HOT ITEM OF CM AND SUMMIT
DEBATE. FOR A WHILE, THEY BELIEVED THAT SUCH STATES (KENYA,
ZAIRE, IVORY COAST, GABON, ETC.), WOULD BE PUBLICLY AND
SPECIFICALLY CHASTIZED FOR SUCH ACTIVITIES. THIS ACTION, LIKE
MANY OTHERS, FELL VICTIM TO THE LACK OF DELIBERATION TIME.

9. BURIED IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN RESOLUTIONS WAS AN ITEM
CALLING UPON STATES TO "ENSURE THE INDIAN OCEAN IS A ZONE OF
PEACE." EXCEPT FOR REFERENCES BY SOMALI PRESIDENT SIAD, THEN
OAU CHAIRMAN, IN HIS OPENING REMARKS, THERE WERE NOT OFFICIAL
REFERENCES TO SOVIET OR US PRESENCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. SIAD,
HOWEVER, CRITICIZED "AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ALLEGING THE EXISTENCE
OF A MILITARY BASE IN THE SMALL VILLAGE OF BERBERA" TO JUSTIFY
THE ANGLO-AMERICAN BASE IN DIEGO GARCIA.

10. FRANCE, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS STRONGLY CRITICIZED FOR ITS
ACTIVITIES IN THE COMORES AND DJIBOUTI. THE OAU ASKED FRANCE
AND SOMALIA TO WORK TOGETHER FOR PEACE AND THE LIBERATION OF
THE TFAI (ALWAYS REFERRED TO AS DKIBOUTI RO "SO-CALLED FRENCH

SOMALILAND"). ETHIOPIA WAS NOT MENTIONED IN THE RESOLUTION BUT MAY HAVE BEEN UNINTENTIONALLY OMITTED. WHEN SOMALIA PRESENTED A STRONG RESOLUTION CALLING FOR TFAI INDEPENDENCE, ETHIOPIA TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO TACK ON THE AN AMENDMENT CALLING ON ALL NEIGHBORING STATES (E.E. ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA), TO RENOUNCE ALL CLAIMS TO THE TFAI. ETHIOPIA REPEATED TO SUMMIT DELEGATES ITS PREVIOUSLY-MADE RENUNCIATION OF TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. THE ETHIOPIAN AMENDMENT ALSO ASKED NEIGHBORING STATES TO REMOVE ALL "LEGAL" CLAIMS TO THE TFAI FROM THEIR NATIONAL LAWS, REGULATIONS AND CONSITUIONS (A NOT TOO SUBTLE REFERENCE TO SOMALI'S CLAIM TO THE TFAI IN ITS CON-CONFIDENTIAL

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STITUTION), AND TO SUPPORT TFAI'S SELF-DETERMINATION. THE DECISION ON THE SOMALI PROPOSAL TO LOCATE A SUB-REGIONAL OFFICE OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN MOGADISCIO TO OVERSEE TFAI LIBERATION STRUGGLE WAS THEN POSTPONED FOR FARTHER CONSIDERATION. A MEMBER OF THE ETHIOPIAN DEL TOLD EMBOFF THAT ETHIOPIA HAD "TURNED THE TABLES" ON SOOALIA RE: DJIBOUTI AND WOULD NOW DEFINITELY RAISA THE ISSUE OF TFAI SELF-DETERMINATION AND RENUNCIATION OF CLAIMS AT THE NEXT REGULAR UNGA SESSION.

11. ANGOLA: THE OAU URGED LIBERATION GROUPS TO END HOSTILITIES IMMEDIATELY AND REFRAIN FROM VIOLENCE TO SETTLE THEIR POLITICAL DISPUTES. IT INVITED THE LEADERS OF THE THREE GROUPS TO COME TO KAMPALA TO EXPLAIN THE REASON FOR THE CONTINUED FIGHTING. (COMMENT: ONLY SAVIMBI CAME.) THE OAU ALSO CALLED ON PORTUGAL TO ASSERT ITS LEGAL POSITION IN ANGOLA TO BRING AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND PROVIDA FOR THE OAU DEL MENTIONED IN PARA 2 ABOVE.

12. OTHER ISSUES:

A. OAU EXPERTS WILL MEET IN ADDIS AUG 13-16 IN AN EFFORT TO PREPARE FOR THE SPECIAL UNGA MEETING ON THE NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER.

B. NO OAU ACTION RE: SPANISH SAHARA WILL BE TAKEN PENDING THE RENDERING OF THE WORLD COURT ADVISORY OPINION.

C. OAU AND MEMBER STATES' LOS EXPERTS WERE REQUESTED TO CONTINUE TO STUDY PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE AFRICAN LOS POSITION. THE CM ALSO ACCEPTED THE OAU LOS REPORT OF THE PRE-CM MEETING IN KAMPALA OF LOS EXPERTS. THIS REPORT IS SAID TO CONTAIN THE CONTRADICTORY POSITIONS OF BOTH COASTAL AND LANDLOCKED STATES.

D. CABINDA: IN RESPONSE TO A PRESS QUESTION, OAU CHAIRMAN AMIN SAID THAT THE OAU ANGOLAN CONCILIATORY COMMISSION WILL TRY TO WORK OUT THE ENCLAVE'S STATUS WHEN IT VISITS ANGOLA. DURING THE SUMMIT, FLEC, WHICH IS NOT RECOGNIZED BY THE OAU AS A LIBERATION GROUP, ANNOUNCED CABINDAN INDEPENDENCE. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE BY THE FLEC PRESIDENT AT A NEWS CONFERENCE

WHICH HAD BEEN INEXPLICABLY POSTPONED FOUR TIMES.

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E. ERITREA: THIS ISSUE CAME UP ONLY OBLIQUELY. THE TUNISIAN DEL ASKED RHETORICALLY ABOUT THE LEGAL PROPRIETY AND RAMIFICATIONS OF ITS MISSION'S EXPULSION FROM ADDIS ABABA. ACCORDING TO ETHIOPIAN FONMIN KIFLE, THE ETHIOPIAN DEL WAS WAITING FOR SOMEONE TO SUPPORT TUNISIA'S WORDS AND HAD PLANNED ITS STRATEGY ACCORDINGLY. ETHIOPIA PLANNED TO INTRODUCE A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR SPECIFIC OAU RECOGNITION OF ERITREA AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF ETHIOPIA AND CONDEMNING FOREIGN POWERS AIDING THE ERITREAN INSURG TS. WHEN NO-ONE SUPPORTED TUNISIA, ETHIOPIA LET THE MATTER DROP. COMMENT: SEGERAL NON-ETHIOPIAN DELS COMMENTED PRIVATELY ON THE STRONG ETHIOPIAN POSITION ON ERITREA. THE ETHIOPIANS, THEY SAID, HAD ASSUMED THE OFFENSIVE ON THE ERITREAN ISSUE AND HAD SO NOTIFIED OAU MEMBERS. THE EPMG, THEY ADDED, WOULD NOT HESITATE TO EXPEL OAU HQ'S FROM ADDIS IF IT WAS DEFEATED ON THIS ISSUE.

F. CORE. THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) OFFICIALLY REQUESTED OBSERVER STATUS AT THE OAU. AT HIS AUG 2 PRESS CONFERENCE, CHAIRMAN AMIN STATED THAT SUCH GROUPS AS CORE WOULD BE WELCOME FROM THE US, LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN WHEN THEY WERE UNITED, IF NOT IN NAME AND ORGANIZATION, THEN AT LEAST IN PURPOSE.

G. THE 1976 SUMMIT WILL BE HELD IN MAURITIUS.

13. CHAIRMAN AMIN: AMIN'S PERFORMANCE WAS A GOOD ONE. HE WAS ENERGETIC BUT NOT FLASHY (HE APPEARED AT ALL OAU MEETINGS IN A CONSERVATIVE BLACK SUIT OF AFRICAN CUT). HE CHAIRED THE MARATHON JULY 31 - AUGUST 1 SESSION, GOT MARRIED, CELEBRATED LAVISHLY, AND SUPERVISED THE "TAKING OF CAPETOWN" (A MILITARY EXERCISE NEAR ENTEBBE) ALL WITHIN A 24-HOUR PERIOD. HE WAS WELL-COACHED BY OAU ADMIN SEC GEN ETEKI AND THE SECRETARIAT STAFF FOR HIS AUGUST 2 NEWS CONFERENCE. HE READ THE PREPARED STATEMENT CAREFULLY BUT SHOWED WIT AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE ISSUES IN HIS EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS. WHILE CERTAINLY NO STATESMAN, IT WAS CLEAR TO MANY OBSERVERS THAT THE NEW CHAIRMAN WAS NOT THE "BUFFOON" OR "CLOWN" HE IS USUALLY DEPICTED TO BE. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT POINT, FOR AS HE TOLD THE ASSEMBLED PRESS, HE WILL BE VISITING NEW YORK FOR THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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SOMETIME THIS FALL.
HUMMEL UNQUOTE
KISSINGER

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

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NIAMEY
NDJAMENA
BANGUI
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